and say that it is because Jesus said that if the world comes to an end while many Cayapa are living, it would be very sad for them; it is therefore necessary for many infants to die. The population figures do indeed indicate that the Cayapa are not reproducing. For the Río Cameronese there is an average of 2.5 living children for each woman of childbearing age and almost 17 per cent sterility among the women.

163
842
[775]

Adoption. Children will be adopted within the kindred, if the parents should die, but there is seldom adoption of non-related children or of illegitimate children. There are a few instances of an illegitimate child's being kept by the mother, but more often she will kill it at birth. The mother may offer the child for adoption, but the general feeling is that such a child having been conceived in sin is non-Christian, and few people want such a child. The Christian thing to do, they feel, is to kill it.

597
848
[612]
[847]
[783]

There is something in the nature of short-term "loans" of children. A child is sometimes sent to live with an "uncle" or other near relative for varying periods of time. In some cases the relatives are

597
591
428

will be paid for by the nearest kin of the deceased.

Except for the recent (ca. 1940) colony at Sapallito, each of the three tribal groups has a church constructed in the western manner with plank siding and flooring. The planks for the siding are all placed vertically. The roofing is of thatch and is of split construction; a clerestory space of about two feet runs along the full length of the church on both sides between the upper and lower roofs. Within the church is an altar, and before it, in the Punta Venado Church, is a large crucifix with a carved, realistic Christ figure. Infants are buried inside the church behind the altar, because they are pure and undefiled by sin. Adults are buried in consecrated ground several minutes' walk from the ceremonial center proper. Chiefs are buried just outside of the Church door under the bell which hangs from the projecting lower roof. The ceremonial center is populated by the dead and their spirits. A Cayapa is always buried in the ceremonial center to which he belongs, and he inherits his membership from his father. He may attend fiestas at any of the other centers, but he must be buried where he belongs.

177
783
[771]
[797]

The Cayapa are not theologians, nor are they knowledgeable about Catholic ritual. They recognize this lack, but do not concern themselves over it. They rely for ritual guidance on the priest, and in his absence their Negro neighbors are ever ready to take his place as religious mentors to the Cayapa. The Cayapa recognize that the Negro has greater understanding of the religion, but they also consider that the Negroes are great sinners, while the Cayapa are held to be very moral. For the Cayapa, religion is morality and morality means proper sexual behavior. That the Negroes seldom, if ever, marry is a constant source of scandal for the Cayapa, and that the Cayapa almost always marry in the Church [a few polygynists to the contrary] is a constant source of envy for the Negro women, who feel great personal insecurity in their free unions. The trouble with the world, say the Cayapa, is that there are many sinners in it--people who commit incest, adultery, and take more than one wife. As most Cayapa are moral, they will go to heaven, but Negroes and Whites, who are notorious sinners, will not. After death Negroes will go to the black clouds and

[186]

[831]
[585]

[775]
[186]

Whites will go to the white clouds, forever floating between heaven and earth. While the Cayapa believe that they are a moral people, probably everyone has sinned a little and so after death every Cayapa soul is scourged in hell. Periodically the soul is weighed and when the scale tips in favor of the soul over its sins, it goes to heaven.

The matter of sin and sex so concern the Cayapa that when they were presented by the first missionaries with the account of Adam and Eve, they transformed it by saying that in the beginning Jesus created two men and two women. The women were not created from the ribs or any other part of the men's bodies, and so, everyone was properly nonrelated. From these four beings sprang the human race.

At irregular intervals, a priest comes up from Limones for Christmas or Easter. He holds a brief service, consecrates marriages, and baptizes children. The Cayapa are very much taken with Catholic imagery and the use of candles. As the writer once watched the priest perform a marriage at Punta Venado, there was a brief contest of wills. The Cayapa wedding party had

vicinity. It may kill people whom it encounters alone. 775
The third soul, the bald ghost is dressed in white and remains by the grave. "In the old days, it would fight with its enemies, but nowadays this does not happen." The /kúme/ has the form of the body it inhabits, and it 774
has the power of leaving the body during sleep, and of travelling about at will. In their travels, the souls visit many places, such as cemeteries, houses of friends, and distant places. At these times the soul is in danger [754]
of being harmed by witchcraft: if the /kúme/ is prevented from returning to its body, that person must die.

In common with much of the Catholic world, the 775
Cayapa believe that a deceased infant has not had a 848
chance to sin and so goes directly to heaven as an angel; 783
however, if the child had been conceived in sin, then 847
they maintain that it is an abomination, and non-Christian. In this case they feel that the Christian thing to do is to kill the neonate, but the status of the soul of the infant is not clear. On the question of 775
the immediate transit to heaven of the infant's soul, 851
the Negroes are the authorities for the Cayapa. As an 179
instance, the wife of Pablo Canalebo of Borbón, died [845]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

622
643
156
[787]

personal direction during a situation of crisis and was soundly rebuffed on all sides. During 1959-60 rumors were constantly in the air in Ecuador that the end of the world was going to take place soon. These rumors had reached the Cayapa and were vouched for by one of the priests at the town of Limones. This priest had been forecasting such an event for some time. According to Gabriel, Jesus carries the world in his arms and when the sins of the people pile up, the world gets heavier and heavier until at last the burden becomes insupportable, and Jesus lets the world fall. That, said Gabriel, will happen very soon unless the Cayapa can appease the wrath of God by holding a special fiesta on the tenth of August, a national holiday. Gabriel was so concerned that he sent a message to the chiefs of the other sections, inviting them to a meeting at his home to discuss the impending disaster and the means by which to avert it. He wanted each group to stage a fiesta at its own ceremonial center at the same time "to give added strength." To make doubly sure, he wanted four young children to be married "as they did in the

[772]
[783]

622
643
156
782
796

587
582

stipulation being that they may not marry a person who has never been married before. There is some feeling that an inexperienced youth should not marry an experienced woman. A widower may marry an unmarried girl if she has been in some way sexually delinquent. In this case, it is felt that she is a sinner and should not be foisted upon an innocent youth. In some instances, as in the following case, the youth is not at all adverse to the advances of a widow.

[783]

587
588
684x

A widow marries a single youth. Augustín's mother had been widowed twice. This time she wanted to marry a young man who had never been married. She mentioned this several times to people, including her son. Augustín objected however, on the basis that this was not proper for a widow to do. Rather, he urged that she keep her eye out for a widower. Nevertheless, his mother clandestinely made love to the young man to whom she was attracted and became pregnant by him. She gave birth to a boy whom she immediately killed and then went to the ceremonial center of Punta Venado with her sister and buried the infant. During the next Easter fiesta at Punta Venado, Augustín advised the chief of

[848]
[847]

were involved in the demise of the man and his children. Jesus, they say, never punishes people while they are living, and the fact of having been punished on earth by a tribal official in no way mitigates one's punishment after death. The young man may have been killed by witchcraft, but the Cayapa aver that this is not supernatural punishment, and he probably "just died for whatever reason."

When asked why widows could only marry widowers, the answer was invariably, "Jesus ordered it that way." According to my informant, the couple was permitted to return to the community because of the children. They were still considered to be living in sin, but they had been punished, and now the matter was in the hands of Jesus. The /ún^{y}i/ had applied the law as far as he could. He could do no more. In a way very similar to the cases of polygyny, to be discussed in the next chapter, an innovation had been introduced into the community--a new behavioral pattern was available for emulation! For the Cayapa, the realm of sin seems to be the most fruitful for cultural change.

Divorce. Divorce is theoretically prohibited

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

[P 155]

CHAPTER IV

DEVIANCE AND LAW IN THE AREA OF SEX RELATIONS

671
684 x
783 ●
831

In terms of attitudes and decisions, Cayapa law can be marked off in two grand divisions: the sacred and the profane. The sacred involves the realm of sin, and sin for the Cayapa is to be found completely in the area of sexual behavior. Illicit sexual adventures, if exposed, are always punished by whipping and/or the use of the stocks. We have no information, but in all probability the whip and the stocks were introduced to the Cayapa at a very early period by Catholic missionaries. Regardless of the source of these two articles of punishment, the Cayapa have taken to them enthusiastically. The question of why sex should be so charged with feelings of sin requiring a special mode of punishment will be discussed later, when we deal with personality factors. While the Cayapa talk about sin and characterize many people as being sinners, my data do not indicate that they either dwell on, or even conceptualize sin, in terms of a world view. Rather,

[177]
[797]

671
684x
783●
831
[178]

they dwell on, are attracted to, and are repulsed by sexual involvements. In this, they agree with the missionaries, and if the missionaries call this area of life sinful, the Cayapa can readily agree. We shall see that it is in the realm of sexual deviancy and in the attempts made by Cayapa lawmen to come to grips with it that the most sweeping socio-cultural changes take place.

684x
835

Incest. Incest is generally viewed by the Cayapa as being particularly heinous. In the olden days, it is asserted, when the Cayapa lived in one village at Pueblo Viejo, anyone guilty of such a crime would be placed suspended over a table which was covered with lighted candles, and then, slowly roasted to death. While this may be apocryphal, it does indicate strong negative feelings towards incestuous behavior. The Cayapa are very clear about this and state that incest is a sin, that it goes against Jesus' commandments and must be punished. Barrett recorded the following case which indicates that the punishment was still severe if not as extreme:

[784]

684x

The incestuous widow. The widow of the late /ʔinʔi/, Arcilio, became pregnant by the son of Arcilio's brother, Arcide. They were both sentenced to fifty lashes but the boys' mother complained that this was too much, and that thirty lashes would be sufficient for her son. No one spoke up for the widow, and so she received the full fifty lashes for incest, even though prior to her marriage to the late /ʔinʔi/ she and the boy were not related.

As sexual matters fall into the realm of sin for the Cayapa, a determined sinner, in the last analysis, can only be handled by God and not by law. The Cayapa are unable to cope effectively with a determined deviant, in most instances. Attitudes towards incest outside of the nuclear family seem to be changing, as illustrated in the following case.

When incest is no longer incest. Lorenzo Añapa of the Río Cameroñes was married to his /ʔapinatacʰiki/, 'father's brother's daughter.' They lived together for two months and then left to attend a fiesta at Punta Venado. Camilio Blanco notified the /ʔinʔi/, Arcilio, who ordered that they each be whipped forty lashes.

684x
837
[696]

bent over slightly and received ten incredibly light blows. He then left and went to the house next door. Within three or four minutes the sound of a brawl was heard from that quarter. This man was beating his wife and throwing her around the room like a French Apache dancer. This went on for a few minutes more, and then several men took him off to one side and calmed him down.

684x
837
696
[783]

Later, several people, including the /ún^{y}i/, were asked by the writer why it was necessary to punish adultery, and, without exception, they replied that it was a sin against God. Only one Indian expressed indignation at the light sentence and punishment accorded the man. When queried, the others either smirked or laughed outright. One fellow pointed out philosophically that the officials were only looking ahead, "as their time for punishment might not be far off."

[831]

Age seems to be a mitigating factor for women, and it is felt that a young single woman should not be punished for cohabiting with a married man. It is said that by her behavior she showed that she wants a man and so should be married. Quite often cognizance will be taken of the protests of relatives of the accused in reducing punishment.

000

in reducing punishment.

684x
694

A young fornicator defended by a cousin. A very attractive young girl who appeared to be about fifteen years of age was brought forward by Pindaleñas, the Negro caretaker of the Church. She shrank back from him and appeared frightened by the whole affair. Several of the officials clustered around her, saying that she had sinned. The chief was off to one side, lying in his hammock, seemingly not paying any attention. The girl replied so softly to the charges that the writer was unable to hear the response. One of the officials who evidently knew of the affair shouted, "It's a lie!" The punishment was set by the officials at fifty lashes; however, a man from the crowd spoke up, saying, "I am her cousin, don't punish her!" At this, there was a brief discussion by the officials, and it was agreed that the girl was too young to be whipped, but because she had slept with a man, it was felt that she wanted a husband and the officials said that one would be found for her.

684x
696
[831]

The general feeling that adultery is a sin that must be punished carries through so that even if the

[783]
[837]

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
SD6 Cayapa SD6

684 x
837
[783]
[696]

cuckold declares his wife innocent, his words fall on deaf ears. Punishment, however, may be ameliorated in a very typical Cayapa fashion:

684 x
694

The cuckold protests in vain. Gabriel had heard that his mother's sister's daughter had been committing adultery and he resolved to punish her during the Christmas fiesta at Punta Venado. About mid-night, a group of officials were excitedly whispering in one corner of the room. Suddenly, they left in a body and crossed the plaza to another house which was dark and quiet. They whispered among themselves for a little while and then went in as a group. Off to one side, a man and a woman were sound asleep under blankets. The man was awakened, and it was explained to him that his wife was being charged with adultery. The husband immediately protested that she was innocent, and they argued back and forth for a few minutes. While the argument was in progress, the woman awoke, and she too protested her innocence. The officials, however, were adamant, and so the couple got up, and everyone walked over to the main house. When the assembly arrived at this house, another group of officials, who looked for all the world

684 x
691

684 x
[696]
[273]

woman had really been punished. Certainly, initially the intention was present, but the proceedings soon became a travesty as all of the participants became progressively drunker. It is of interest to note that only the woman was tried, and no mention at all was made of the man or men involved. It seems to have been generally accepted that she had been taking the initiative in her sexual adventures. For the Cayapa, extra-marital sexual behavior is sinful, and at the root of all sin are women. Assigning initial guilt to women sometimes requires a certain amount of mental gymnastics which is quite ludicrous as in the following instance.

[837]
[783]
[562]

684 x
837
562
[694]

The blame is placed on the woman because she did not say no. A 'nephew' of Arcilio was single. He made love to the wife of Arcilio's son and they were seen by the /ún^{y}i/. Arcilio, however, was "ashamed" and said nothing then but charged them during the Easter fiesta at Punta Venado. The woman blamed the man, but he in turn said that it was all her fault because all she had to do was to refuse his advances. They were both punished with eighty lashes.